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40th  
Founding Anniversary of  
the Viet Nam Workers' Party



President HO CHI MINH  
on the rostrum of the Party's Third  
National Congress (September 1960)

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## NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONALISM DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

**I**t is when the storm rises and the sea gets rough that one can recognize the authority, wisdom and know-how of the helmsman. This is also true of those who lead nations, as well as the Parties and personalities whose followers and capacities are always measured by the magnitude of the trials and the upheavals overcome and put under control.

In 1859, with the first armed aggression launched by the French colonialists, the Vietnamese nation faced a powerful enemy equipped with modern arms and also a past master in the use of the most sophisticated political and ideological means. Throughout the century which followed, the question of safeguarding, then of regaining national independence confronted all social classes, all the nationalities, all religious groups in all its acuteness. Moreover, the old regime, with its social structures and its values, having revealed itself

completely impotent in that confrontation, the renovation and modernization of the country became a not less imperative necessity.

Heir to a millenary and glorious tradition, the Vietnamese people waged an unswerving struggle against colonialism. For more than a century, they unequivocally demonstrated their indomitableness and heroism; however, courage alone is not sufficient to determine the outcome of the fight. Numerous movements succeeded one another and until 1945, before the founding of the DRVN, all of them had failed, notwithstanding the heroism of the combatants.

The Hue imperial court — the king and the high dignitaries — had quickly capitulated and later collaborated with the enemy. The national resistance was soon taken over by the peasant masses under the leadership of patriotic scholars. For forty years,

that movement took numerous political as well as armed actions against the colonialists all over the national territory, but in the end failed, too. The scholars were animated by an ardent patriotism but did not know that the time had come not to restore the old regime, but to change it, and they could offer to the popular masses no promising future.

Early in this century, the advent of a bourgeoisie, a petty bourgeoisie and an intelligentsia linked with these two social classes gave a new orientation to the national movement. However, all these new parties and personalities, inspired by democratic ideas of the western bourgeoisie, did not know how to mobilize and organize the popular masses. Townsmen divorced from the peasant masses or passionate political figures who however had no links with the workers but only relied on a richly bourgeoisie, those patriots

could not form short-lived organizations of little importance. Their line of action wavered between reformism and plots hatched in the shadow, without the participation of the broad masses. It is not surprising to see the colonialist police and military machine crush them without much difficulty.

The tragic and very quick failure of the Yen Bai insurrection (February 1930) launched by the Nationalist Party marked the end of an epoch: the movement of nationalist scholars, parties and organizations of different tendencies, reformist actions or armed uprisings, in short the Vietnamese people had tried everything to recover their independence but in vain.

**I**t was up to Nguyen Ai Quoc, then to the Party founded by himself, to prove that there was a new path, efficacious

(Continued page 8)

THE 1930 Political Thesis is an important historic document of our Party. It was drafted by Comrade Tran Phu and approved by the First Meeting of the Party's Central Committee (October 1930).

The Thesis applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, analyzed the characteristics and laid down the tasks of the revolution, defined its main motive forces, and charted the Party's general line in the national democratic revolution.

We publish below the first six points contained in the 1930 Political Thesis.

## I THE WORLD SITUATION AND THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION

1. Following the imperialist war (1914-1918), the world situation may be viewed as having gone through three periods:

a. During the first period (1918-1923), as a result of the war, the

has exasperated the various imperialisms to overthrow the Soviet Union, the citadel of world revolution.

In the imperialist countries, the proletariat has put up a fierce struggle (large-scale strikes in Germany, France, Poland, etc.); the colonies (especially China and India) have seen a revolutionary effervescence. This is due to increasingly harsh exploitation of the masses by the capital, which is plagued by a crisis; in the world the number of unemployed totals scores of millions and the workers and peasants suffer untold misery. In this third period, proletarian revolution and colonial revolution have reached a very high level: in some places they are ready to seize power.

At present, Indochina has contributed its revolutionary forces to the extensive movements going on in the world, thus broadening the worker-peasant front against imperialism. On the other hand, the ebullient revolutionary drive in the world (especially in China and India) exerts a strong influence on the struggle in Indochina and gives it an even more vigorous impetus. And so the world revolution and the Indochinese revolution are closely connected.

increased plundering of the people's life by the capitalists.

b. The oppressive regime imposed by French imperialism hampers the development of the productive forces in Indochina. The imperialists have not built heavy industries (like iron works, machine building, etc.) for this would harm the monopoly of French industry. They only develop those industries which serve their administration and trade, for instance railway lines, small shipyards, etc.

c. The aim of French imperialism is to make Indochina an economic dependency of France, and so it promotes only those industries which it finds more profitable to develop in Indochina than in France itself. Raw material exploitation is meant not to help Indochina's economy develop independently, but to prevent French industry's dependence on other imperialisms.

d. As exportation is in the hands of French capitalists, internal commerce and production is dependent upon the export requirements of the French imperialists. The more exports increased, the more the country is drained of its natural resources by imperialism. Another special feature: French banks (*Banque d'Indochine*, *Credit Indochinois*, etc.) collect capital from native

pieces very fast, yet the new industry is developing at a very slow rate: factories, workshops, etc., cannot hire all the poor and unemployed and many have to starve in the countryside where the situation is truly tragic.

In the factories, plantations and mines, the capitalists cruelly exploit and oppress the workers. Their wages, which are at starvation level, are subject to cuts by all kinds of fines. They work eleven, twelve hours a day on an average. Abuses and blows are rained on them. When they fall sick, far from getting any medical attention, they are thrown out into the streets. Social insurance is totally nonexistent. In plantations and mines, the owners pen their workers up in camps and forbid them to wander out. They use the system of indenture to recruit and move people away, to places where they can impose their own law on the workers and even inflict penalties on them. Due to such harsh working conditions, large numbers of workers in Indochina suffer from dangerous diseases (tuberculosis, trachoma, malaria, etc.) and more and more of them die at a very young age.

The Indochinese proletariat is not yet numerous, but the number of workers, especially plantation workers, is on the increase. They

# POLITICAL THESIS OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (October 1930)

(EXCERPTS)

capitalist economy suffered depression and crisis, and in many places in Europe the proletariat rose up and fought for power. Eventually on the one hand, the Russian proletariat defeated the imperialists who attacked the country from the outside and the counter-revolutionaries who carried out sabotage inside, and set up a firm dictatorship of the proletariat on the other hand, however, the West European proletariat met with failure (for instance the German proletariat in 1923).

b. During the second period (1923-1928), availing themselves of the recent setbacks suffered by the European proletariat, the various imperialisms acted on the offensive, exploited the proletariat and the colonial peoples to the utmost, and brought temporary stability to the imperialist economy. On account of its previous failure, the proletariat in the imperialist countries acted only on the defensive. The revolution broke out in the colonial countries, in the Soviet Union, economic consolidation helped Communist influence spread all over the world.

c. The third period, the present one, presents the following characteristics: Capitalism has not been able to maintain its temporary stability and has slipped back into crisis; the various imperialisms again have to engage in a sharp competition for markets, making a new imperialist war inevitable.

The Soviet economy has surpassed the pre-imperialist war level; successful socialist construction

## II THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SITUATION IN INDOCHINA

2. Indochina (Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos) is a settlement of French imperialism. So, its economy is dependent upon that of French imperialism. The following are the two outstanding features of the development of Indochina:

a. Indochina must develop independently, but it cannot do so because of its colonial status.

b. Class contradiction has grown ever fiercer between the workers, peasants and other toiling people on the one hand, and the feudal land-owners, capitalists and imperialists on the other.

3. Economic contradictions: a. Though the bulk of agricultural products is exported by the imperialists, the economy has remained feudal in character. Most plantations (rubber, cotton, coffee, etc.) belong to French capitalists. The greater part of the land is owned by native landlords, who exploit it in the feudal way, i.e. rent it in small plots to poor tenants for a very high rent. Rice yields are besides lower in Indochina than in other countries (Per hectare paddy output in Malaya: 2,550 kilograms; in Siam, 1,870 kilograms; in Europe, 4,570 kilograms; in Indochina, only 1,000 kilograms). More rice is exported every year, but this is not due to the development of rice-growing, only to

people to aid French exporters. In short: Indochina's economy remains an agricultural one, with predominant feudal features. All this interferes with its independent development.

4. Class contradictions: a. French imperialism, in alliance with native landlords, traders and usurers, ruthlessly exploits the peasants. It takes the country's farm produce for export, imports its own goods for sale within the country, imposes high taxation, drives the peasantry to misery and craftsmen to unemployment.

b. Land is more and more concentrated in the hands of the imperialists and landlords; the existence of numerous intermediaries causes the rent that has to be paid by poor tenants to be all the higher. The latter are also soaked so exorbitantly by usurers that they often are compelled to give them their lands or even their children in payment of their debts.

c. The imperialists pay no attention to keeping the dykes in good repair for protection against floods. Irrigation facilities are in the hands of the capitalists, who exact a high price for their use: no money, no water. And so more and more crop failures occur because of flood and drought. Not only are the peasants prevented from developing their economy, but they grow increasingly dependent upon the capitalists and fare worse and worse: unemployment and starvation afflict more and more people.

The old economy is falling to

fight ever more actively. The peasants have also awakened and fiercely opposed the imperialists and feudalists. Strikes in 1928, 1929 and the violent outbursts of workers and peasants this year (1930) clearly prove that class struggle in Indochina is gaining momentum. The most outstanding and important feature in the revolutionary movement in Indochina is that the struggle of the worker-peasant masses has taken on a very clearly independent character and is no longer influenced by nationalism as it used to be.

## III CHARACTERISTICS AND TASKS OF THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION

5. The above-mentioned contradictions account for the fact that the revolutionary movement in Indochina is growing day by day. In its initial period, the Indochinese revolution will be a bourgeois democratic revolution, we it cannot yet directly tackle organizational problems of a socialist structure; the country is still very weak economically, many feudal vestiges still linger, the balance of class forces is not yet tipped in favour of the proletariat; besides imperialism still holds oppressive sway. For these reasons, in the present period, the revolution will only have an agrarian and anti-imperialist character.

The bourgeois democratic revolution is a preparatory period leading to socialist revolution. Once it has

# POLITICAL PROGRAM ADOPTED AT THE PARTY'S 2nd CONGRESS (1951)

(Excerpts)

## THE VIETNAMESE SOCIETY AND THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

### 1.—THE VIETNAMESE SOCIETY

1. Before the French conquest, the Vietnamese society was essentially a feudal society based on an agricultural economy which in most part bore an autarkic character. Land was in the hands of the king, the nobility and the feudal landlords.

The peasants were ground down by a very harsh rule and lived in dire misery. Their destitution aggravated with the domination of foreign feudal conquerors. They craved for freedom. They yearned for land. They therefore rose up in arms in many times and each of their bitter and widespread uprisings brought about a change of dynasty in the country or a splendid success for the national liberation movement. However, in view of immature economic and social conditions and the lack of the leadership of a vanguard class, the peasants' efforts, through many centuries, proved unable to alter the feudal character of the Vietnamese society.

2. Since the conquest by French imperialism, Viet Nam has become a monopolized market, a supplier of raw materials, a money-lender counter and a military base of the French colonial empire. The autarkic character of the Vietnamese feudal economy was upset.

3. In 1945, after their defeat at the hands of the Soviet Army, the Japanese fascists surrendered. Under the leadership of French imperialism, Viet Nam has won victory, and a worker-peasant government has been established. Industry within the country will develop, proletarian organizations will be reinforced, the leadership of the proletariat will be consolidated, and the balance of class forces will be altered to the advantage of the proletariat. Then the struggle will develop in depth and breadth and the bourgeois democratic revolution will advance towards the proletarian revolution. The present period is one of world proletarian revolution and socialist building in the Soviet Union; thanks to help from the working class exercising dictatorship in various countries, Indochina will bypass the capitalist stage and fight its way direct to socialism.

In the bourgeois democratic revolution, the proletariat and the peasantry are the two main motive forces, but only if leadership is in the hands of the proletariat can the revolution triumph.

6. The essential aim of the bourgeois democratic revolution is on the one hand to do away with the feudal vestiges and the moles of pre-capitalist exploitation and to carry out a thorough agrarian revolution; on the other hand, to overthrow French imperialism and achieve complete independence for Indochina. The two faces of the struggle are closely connected, for only by depositing imperialism can we eliminate the landlord class and carry out a successful agrarian revolution; conversely, only by abolishing the feudal regime can we knock down imperialism.

After World War I, as a result of the French imperialist's emphasis on "colonial exploitation", French mining industry and light industry was further expanded in Viet Nam. The Vietnamese working class took shape and grew up rapidly. The Vietnamese capitalist class came into being but could hardly make any noticeable headway due to the strict control by French monopoly capital.

The colonial policy pursued by French imperialism was a narrow-minded and conservative one. It made Viet Nam completely dependent on France. It stunted the productive forces in Viet Nam. It combined capitalist oppression and exploitation with feudal and semi-feudal ones, reducing the Vietnamese people, especially the workers and peasants, to most squalid misery.

During World War II, following the invasion of Viet Nam by the Japanese fascists, the French colonial regime in Viet Nam became fascized. The tribulations of the Vietnamese people grew all the more unbearable. Many revolts broke out. The guerrilla bases were expanded and people's power was established in the Viet Bac liberated zone.

Notwithstanding these facts, the Vietnamese society under French domination was, on the whole, a colonial and semi-feudal society.

3. In 1945, after their defeat at the hands of the Soviet Army, the Japanese fascists surrendered. Under the leadership of French imperialism, Viet Nam has won victory, and a worker-peasant government has been established.

In order to reach these essential goals, we must set up the worker-peasant Soviet power. The worker-peasant Soviet power alone is the very powerful instrument which will make it possible to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and landlordism, give land to the tillers, and legal protection to the interests of the proletariat.

The essential tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution are the following:

1. To overthrow French imperialism, feudalism, and landlordism.
2. To set up a worker-peasant government.
3. To confiscate all lands belonging to foreign and native landlords and to religious organizations, and hand them over to middle and poor peasants, the right of ownership to be vested in the hands of the worker-peasant government.
4. To nationalize all big undertakings of the foreign capitalists.
5. To abolish all current taxes and corvées and institute a progressive tax.
6. To decree an 8-hour workday and improve the living standards of the workers and toiling people.
7. Indochina to be completely independent; national self-determination to be recognized.
8. To organize a worker-peasant army.
9. Equality between man and woman.
10. To support to the Soviet Union; alliance with the proletariat all over the world and with the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

ent Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist Party, the Vietnamese people successfully staged a general insurrection. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was founded. Democratic reforms were enforced. The Vietnamese society embarked on the road of a people's democracy.

However, the French imperialists' comeback to Viet Nam has triggered a protracted and all-out war of resistance of the Vietnamese nation. At present, aided by the US interventionists and abetted by the traitors, their puppets, the French imperialists have re-established their colonial and fascist rule on part of our country.

The Vietnamese society at present assumes a three-fold character: people's democratic, colonial and semi-feudal. These three features are clashing with one another. But the main conflict at this moment is that between the people's democratic trait and the colonial trait. It is being settled in the process of the Vietnamese nation's resistance against the French colonialists and the interventionists.

### II.—THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

1. At present, the Vietnamese revolution must remove the contradiction between the Vietnamese people's democratic regime and the reactionary forces to give it a vigorous impulse and smooth its path toward socialism.

The main reactionary force in the way of the progress of the Vietnamese society is aggressive imperialism. The vestiges of feudalism also cause its stagnation. Therefore, the Vietnamese revolution has two enemies. The principal enemy at present is aggressive imperialism, or more specifically, French imperialism and the US interventionists. The other enemy of secondary importance is the feudalists who at this juncture are reactionary feudalists.

2. The fundamental task of the Vietnamese revolution at present is to drive out the imperialist aggressors to win back genuine independence and unity for the nation, blot out the vestiges of feudalism and semi-feudalism, give land to the tillers, develop the people's democratic regime and lay the groundwork for socialism. These three tasks are closely interrelated. Nevertheless, the main and immediate task is to complete national liberation. Therefore, at this moment all energies must be bent on the war of resistance to defeat the aggressors.

3. The motive forces of the Vietnamese revolution at present are the workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intellectual and the petty bourgeoisie. Besides, they also comprise patriotic and progressive personalities (from the landlord class). These classes, social sections and elements form the people. The basic elements of the latter are the workers, peasants, and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The leader of the revolution is the working class.

4. With the above-said fundamental task to fulfil, with the people as the motive force, with the workers, peasants and brain workers as basic elements of the people and with the working class as the leader, the Vietnamese revolution is at the present stage a national people's democratic revolution.

It is not an old-type bourgeois democratic revolution, nor a socialist revolution, but a kind of new-type bourgeois democratic revolution which is to progress toward a socialist revolution without having to go through a revolutionary civil war. It is a revolution typical of its kind in the present historical context.

5. The Vietnamese national people's democratic revolution will inevitably take Viet Nam to socialism. Under the leadership of the working class which is closely allied to the peasants and brain workers, and with the support of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, especially China, the Vietnamese revolution will follow no other road than that to socialism.

It is the path of a protracted struggle which will, generally speaking, go through three stages: in the first stage, the main task is to complete national liberation; in the second stage, the primordial task is to do away with feudal and semi-feudal vestiges, carry out thoroughly the watchword "land to the tillers", develop industry and commerce, and shape the people's democratic regime; in the third stage, the principal objective is to lay the foundations of socialism and proceed toward the realization of socialism.

These three stages are not separate but closely related and interlocked. However, each stage has its central task, and it is necessary to acquire full comprehension of the latter and focus all efforts on its fulfilment.

In the first stage, which is the present stage, the spearhead of the revolution is directed at the imperialist aggressors. The Party must rally all national forces, into a national united front to carry out the resistance against the imperialist aggressors and the Vietnamese fascists. At the same time, it must see to the improvement of the people's living standards, especially of the toiling people, so as to increase their zeal in keeping up the resistance effort.

In the second stage, the point of the revolution will be aimed at the feudalists. By then the Party must have its strength to eliminating the feudal and semi-feudal vestiges and thoroughly implement the watchword "land to the tillers", push industrialization and perfect the people's democratic regime. However, in this stage the struggle must continue against world imperialism to defend national independence.

In the third stage, the central task of the revolution consists in expanding the foundations of socialism and preparing for the realization of socialism. What concrete work will be prompted by the actual situation at home and abroad at the time.

# 40 YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

On the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary (Feb. 3, 1970) of the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party), the Committee for Research on Party History under the Party's Central Committee has compiled a pamphlet entitled Forty Years of Activity of the Party, the four parts of which deal respectively with the following problems:

1. The efforts leading to the formation of the Party of the Vietnamese working class. The August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (1925-1945).
2. The struggle to defend national independence, preserve and consolidate people's power. The protracted resistance war against the French colonialist aggressors (1945-1954).
3. The socialist revolution in North Viet Nam and the national people's democratic revolution in South Viet Nam (1954-1965).
4. The nation-wide resistance war against US aggression for national salvation to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country (1965-1969).

## FROM THE BIRTH OF THE PARTY TO THE AUGUST REVOLUTION IN 1945

THE book devotes an important part to the eminent services of President Ho Chi Minh, the founder and educator of the Party. In the twenties of this century, after studying the different lines of revolution in Western and Eastern countries, President Ho Chi Minh came to this conclusion: "To save our country and liberate our people, there was no other way for us than proletarian revolution."

He made extensive efforts to popularize Marxism-Leninism in Viet Nam and laid the groundwork for the Vietnamese working class to found its own Party.

On this chief, President Ho Chi Minh and a number of other patriots established the Viet Nam Young Revolutionary League, a transitional organization to supply the Vietnamese patriots with facilities to weather the French colonialist and apply it to their national liberation movement.

To set up the Viet Nam Young Revolutionary League, President Ho Chi Minh immediately a Communist Party in Viet Nam in 1925 was a great inspiration of President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. "For the Vietnamese revolutionaries," the book says, "it was not simple to switch from their patriotic position dictated by the old concept to one in line with the Marxist-Leninist concept." The pamphlet gives this explanation: "In a colonial and economically backward country like ours at the time, there had been no socialist tradition as yet not only in the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie but also in the working class..." and "the imme-

diolate founding of a proletarian Party surely would be a sudden development that would eventually lead to a split in the stirring patriotic movement at that time."

The Viet Nam Young Revolutionary League's Association completed with the preparations for the founding of the Party in all the different spheres: ideological, political and organizational.

On Feb. 3, 1930, the Viet Nam Communist Party which was later renamed Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) came into being, "marking a great turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution and opening a new period in which the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution is assumed by the Vietnamese working class and its vanguard brigade, a Marxist-Leninist Party."

"Right after its birth," the book states, "the Party charted the right revolutionary line for the Vietnamese revolution. This was laid down in clear terms in the Summarized Political Program and Tactics drafted by President Ho Chi Minh and adopted at the Founding Conference of the Party on Feb. 3, 1930, and later elaborated on in the Political Thesis drafted by Tran Phu, first Secretary-General of the Party, and passed at the Party Plenum's first meeting in October 1930. It is as follows:

"In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution after the success of the Great October Revolution in the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese revolution has become an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. It will go through two stages: first, the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution carried out under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the

imperialists and feudalists, wrest back national independence and give back land to the tillers. The task of fighting imperialism and feudalism are closely linked. The main force of the revolution is made up of the workers and peasants. The Party must achieve the worker-peasant alliance and use revolutionary mass violence to stage insurrections and seize power."

"After having fulfilled in the main the above tasks, the revolution will switch to the second stage, that of taking Viet Nam directly to socialism by passing the stage of capitalist development."

"The essential condition for the success of the revolution is to have a Communist Party with Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation and a judicious political line to lead the revolution, a Party organized according to democratic centralism, strictly disciplined, with close ties with the masses, and which grows in the course of revolutionary struggle."

The book reviews the revolutionary movements in Viet Nam from the birth of the Party to the August Revolution in 1945.

Within only 15 years, under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, the Vietnamese people rose to a man in a general armed insurrection that led to the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the first people's democratic State in South-East Asia.

The success of the August Revolution was the outcome not only of the national liberation movement in 1930-1931, but also of the whole revolutionary process since the emergence of our Party, going through two full-dress risings which were the revolutionary high tide of 1930-1931 and the period of the Indochinese

## THE RESISTANCE WAR AGAINST THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS

"RIGHT in its early days," the book begins in its second part, "Viet Nam had to face countless difficulties. Hardly had the terrible famine resulting from the predatory policy of the French and Japanese imperialists been overcome that a big flood occurred in Bac Bo. Then came a drought which caused delay in the sowing, while all the means of production were brought to a standstill and the national treasury was left empty by the Japanese."

"It was when our people were confronted with piling difficulties that 200,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops swarmed into North Viet Nam. They claimed they had to come and discharge the task entrusted by the Allied forces—disarming Japanese troops in Indochina—but in fact they were henchmen of the US imperialists, instructed by the latter to carry out their dark scheme to destroy our Party and the Viet Nam people and help the reactionaries in Viet Nam overthrow the revolutionary power and set up a puppet government, at US beck and call. Meanwhile, British troops moved into South Viet Nam also under the pretext of disarming Japanese troops. They were actually expeditionary troops that opened the way for the French colonialists to invade Viet Nam for the second time. While the imperialists joined hands in an attempt to reduce the Vietnamese people politically and militarily, the Vietnamese traitors, flunkys of France, the US and Chiang Kai-shek, went on a rampage of provocation and sabotage. However, the Vietnamese people overcame all these seemingly unsurmountable obstacles and succeeded in maintaining firmly the revolutionary power."

"The main problem at that moment," the book points out, "was to safeguard with might and main the revolutionary power. It was a life-and-death struggle between our entire people and imperialism. But guided by Marxism-Leninism, our Party did not think only in terms of the present but also of the future and had firm confidence in the spirit and strength of the masses, of the nation. Therefore we vacillated and wavered and pessimistic people with this distrust:

"About the signing on March 1946 by the DRV Government of a preliminary convention with the French Government, the book notes: The signing of the preliminary

convention was a very sound and lucid move of our Party. Thanks to it, the Vietnamese revolution got rid of a wicked enemy of the Vietnamese people at that time. Also thanks to it, our people made the most of little valuable time to prepare for a protracted resistance war."

About this historical period, the book remarks:

"The difficult and complex situation in the period between the success of the August Revolution and late 1946 was full of very hard trials for our Party and Government. The very existence of our budding revolutionary power was hanging by a thread. But our Party and Government, headed by esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, led our people and our country through all obstacles and dangers and succeeded in making the revolutionary power secure and developing their potential strength."

"Our people's war of resistance under the Party's leadership against the French colonialists and US interventionists lasted nearly 9 years. It was a nation-wide, all-round, protracted and self-renewing resistance war. Our Party's independent, sovereign and creative line of resistance found clear expression in the Party's documents, especially in President Ho Chi Minh's Political Report and the Report On the Vietnamese Revolution by Truong Chinh (then Secretary-General of the Party), both delivered at the Party's Second National Congress in February 1951. The book says:

"The Political Program of the Viet Nam Workers' Party approved by the Congress on the basis of the Political Report and the Report On the Vietnamese Revolution is an extension and improvement of the Party's general line in the national people's democratic revolution."

"At the beginning of the resistance war, the inequality between the forces of the Vietnamese people and their adversary was such that some people likened our resistance war to a contest between a grasshopper and an elephant?"

"In his Political Report," the book recalls, "President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: 'It was so if things were seen from the material point of view, in their future and had firm confidence in the spirit and strength of the masses, of the nation. Therefore we vacillated and wavered and pessimistic people with this distrust:

"The book comments: 'The Dien Bien Phu victory was the greatest feat of our armed forces and people in the protracted war of resistance against the French colonialists and US interventionists, and is one of the biggest annihilation battles in the history of the oppressed peoples' confrontation with the professional armies of the colonialists.'

"In this resistance war," the book points out, "our people had to fight not only French colonialist aggression but also the scheme of imperialism to conquer our country, crush our Party and the revolutionary movement in our country, and undermine the world revolutionary movement. By resolutely carrying out the resistance war and bringing it to success our people have disclosed not only the national duty but also their duty towards the world revolution."

The book quotes the following important conclusion drawn by President Ho Chi Minh on the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against the French colonialists:

"For the first time, in history a small and weak colony defeated a big and powerful colonial power. This was not only a glorious victory of the Vietnamese people, but also one of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world."

"Once again Marxism-Leninism has blazed the trail for the Vietnamese working class and people to carry the day in their fight for national salvation, and preserve their revolutionary gains" (Ho Chi Minh's Selected Works, the Vietnamese Edition, page 771).

## SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH AND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH

IN its third and fourth parts, the book treats socialist revolution in North Viet Nam and national people's democratic revolution in South Viet Nam.

By late 1951, the revolutionary forces, though having

grown up, were not yet strong enough to liberate the whole country. Thanks to it, despite his bitter setback, was not yet completely defeated. Therefore, Viet Nam was temporarily divided into two zones, North Viet Nam, after being completely liberated, switched to socialist revolution, while South Viet Nam remained under the rule of the US imperialists and their henchmen.

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"In this resistance war," the book points out, "our people had to fight not only French colonialist aggression but also the scheme of imperialism to conquer our country, crush our Party and the revolutionary movement in our country, and undermine the world revolutionary movement. By resolutely carrying out the resistance war and bringing it to success our people have disclosed not only the national duty but also their duty towards the world revolution."

The book quotes the following important conclusion drawn by President Ho Chi Minh on the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against the French colonialists:

"For the first time, in history a small and weak colony defeated a big and powerful colonial power. This was not only a glorious victory of the Vietnamese people, but also one of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world."

"Once again Marxism-Leninism has blazed the trail for the Vietnamese working class and people to carry the day in their fight for national salvation, and preserve their revolutionary gains" (Ho Chi Minh's Selected Works, the Vietnamese Edition, page 771).

The theme of the third part is the Third National Congress of the Party in September 1960. The Political Report delivered at the Congress by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, made a penetrating appraisal of the situation in the country and the world since the Party's Second National Congress (February 1951), summed up the basic experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and asserted: "At the present international juncture, even a small and weak nation, if it rises up to a man to fight resolutely for independence and democracy under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, will be in a position to triumph over any aggressor."

The book says: "Together with the Party's resolutions, the Political Report is a beacon illuminating the road to triumph over any aggressor and to national reunification."

The book says: "By defeating the US war of destruction, we US imperialists aggressive war in Viet Nam,

The Political Report sets forth the common task of socialist revolution in the present period as follows: 'To strengthen the unity of the entire people; to strive hard to preserve peace, to push up socialist revolution in the North, at the same time, to impel forward the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in South-East Asia and in the world.' The Political Report also makes clear that 'The task of socialist construction in the North is the most decisive factor for the development of the revolution in our country, a whole and for our national reunification.'

The book retraces the process of socialist construction in North Viet Nam, especially since the Third National Congress of the Party, and highlights the spirit of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance, the singleness of purpose which defies all difficulties to build socialism in the specific conditions of Viet Nam, "when the North, newly freed from the colonialist and feudal yoke, is advancing directly to socialism by passing the period of capitalist development and when the country is still temporarily divided into two zones."

The book quotes statements by President Ho Chi Minh in the Party's Central Committee concerning socialist revolution in the North. In March 1961, President Ho Chi Minh said: "Over the past ten years, the northern part of our country has made such big strides as never seen before in the history of our nation. Our country, society and men have changed" (Report delivered at the Special Political Conference).

In December 1965, the Party's Central Committee said in the Resolutions of its 14th Plenum: "Over to years of socialist revolution and construction, North Viet Nam has become the firm base for the Vietnamese revolution throughout the country with a fine political regime and considerable and strong economic and national defence potentials."

In an attempt to extricate themselves from the South Viet Nam imbroglio, the US imperialists engineered on August 5, 1966 the ill-fated Gulf incident as a pretext to bomb North Viet Nam.

From February 1965, they attacked with force, razed to the ground whole districts towns like Ha Tu (Thang Ninh), and the position of the working class, is unreservedly loyal to the class and national interests, applied creatively Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in charting the correct revolutionary policies to lead the Vietnamese

Our Party always adheres to the position of the working class, is unreservedly loyal to the class and national interests, applied creatively Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in charting the correct revolutionary policies to lead the Vietnamese

and badly shook their aggressive will...

"Realities have shown that the US war of destruction could neither prevent the North Vietnamese people from giving powerful support to their South Viet Nam kith and kin, nor weaken our entire people's determination to resist US aggression and save the country, nor delay socialist construction in North Viet Nam. On the contrary, our socialist regime has been strengthened in many spheres."

"Our fight against US aggression, for national salvation," the book notes, "proves the great vitality of our superior socialist regime and the peoples' democratic dictatorship in the North of our country."

Along with steady advances of socialist revolution in the North, national people's democratic revolution in the South has been progressing by leaps and bounds. From 1960, under the judicious and clear-sighted leadership of the Party, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese people carried out concerted uprisings, shattered the US-puppets' grip, overthrew the dictatorial and fascist rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and successfully resisted the "special war". They are now defeating the local war waged by US imperialism.

In fact, the Vietnamese revolution as in the past forty years successfully got rid of the imperialist and fascist and French colonialist and is now holding in check the imperialist ringroad of US imperialism, is clearly that US imperialism is the enemy, to dare to mobilize the masses and succeed in organizing forces to fight and defeat the US is a great achievement of our Party. It testifies to the strength of the revolution and the spirit of dauntless, unyielding struggle of a people who are writing glorious pages of history under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

In conclusion, the book says: "Over the past forty years, the Indochinese Communist Party in the past, now the Viet Nam Workers' Party, headed by esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, has been the sole leader and organizer of all successes of the Vietnamese revolution. It has always been thanks to our Party's strict application of these fundamental tenets:

"Our Party always adheres to the position of the working class, is unreservedly loyal to the class and national interests, applied creatively Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in charting the correct revolutionary policies to lead the Vietnamese

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(Continued page 10)

# LANDMARKS IN THE PARTY'S HISTORY

**February 3, 1930:** A "Merger conference" presided over by Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (earlier name of President Ho Chi Minh), standing member of the Eastern Department, directly in charge of the Southern Section of the Communist International, is held in Kiao-Lun near Hong Kong (China) to unite various communist organizations in Viet Nam into the Viet Nam Communist Party (later renamed Indochinese Communist Party, now the Viet Nam Workers' Party). The conference adopts the Party's "Summarized Political Program and Tactics" inaugurating the stage of new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution in Viet Nam.

**May 1930:** The Party launches a vigorous revolutionary movement throughout the country which culminates in the Nghe Tinh Soviet Uprising (September 12, 1930) during which Soviet Committees are set up first in Vo Liet village, then in Binh Hao Canton and later throughout Thanh Chuong district, Nghe An province. For the first time in the national history, an administration which really belongs to the workers and peasants is established.

**October 1930:** The First Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee meets in Hong Kong to approve the "Political Thesis" drafted by Tran Phu, first Secretary General of the Party Central Committee, defining the strategy and tactics of the Viet Nam National Democratic Revolution.

**June 5, 1931:** Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc is arrested and detained by the British Government in Hong Kong. The French colonialists undertake demarches with the British imperialists to get his extradition to Indo-China. He eventually manages to escape.

**September 5, 1931:** Arrested in Saigon where he has been detained since March 1931, Comrade Tran Phu, first Secretary General of the Party, dies in Cho Quan hospital in Cholon from atrocious torture by the enemy.

**1934:** The Overseas Leading Committee of the Party is founded in Macao (China) under the leadership of Comrade Le Hong Phong. Its task is to unify the Party's organization in the country, train cadres and prepare for the first Congress of the Party.

**March 27, 1935:** The First Congress of the Party held in Macao passes the Political Resolution, Program of Action, the Statute of the Party and the statutes of the various mass organizations. The Congress elects the new Central Committee of the Party.

**July 1935:** The Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow recognizes the Indochinese Communist Party as an official ally of the Communist International. The Congress focuses its discussion on the setting up of an "Anti-Fascist Front."

**1936:** The First Session of the Party Central Committee presided over by Comrade Le Hong Phong, alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, decides to set up the People's Anti-Imperialist Front (later renamed Indochinese

Democratic United Front) in order to spearhead the revolutionary struggle against fascism and the colonialist reactionaries, and to demand democratic freedoms and better living conditions for the people.

**June 1936:** The Indochinese Communist Party launches the Movement for the Indochinese Congress on the occasion of the sending by the French Government (of the Popular Front) of a fact-finding mission to the French colonies to investigate the situation there and inquire into the local people's aspirations. Action Committees are established everywhere to collect the people's desiderata and send them to the French government delegation in Cochinchina (South Viet Nam) alone, 600 such bodies are set up.

The Indochinese Congress Movement's activity exerts a great influence, drawing ever larger numbers of the people into open and legal organizations and forms of struggle.

**June-December 1936:** Under the Party leadership, demonstrations and strikes break out on a scale never on a much wider scale than previously, including the strike staged on August 20, 1936 by workers of the Michelin rubber plantation in Dun Tieng (Cochinchina), that of 6,000 coal miners at the Cam Pha colliery which starts on November 21, and lasts for several days.

**Early 1937:** The Party expands the mutual aid unions to draw more and more people into open and legal organizations.

**March 1937:** The Committee of the Indochinese Democratic Front sponsored by the Party is formed. The Party papers and other democratic mouthpieces appear and multiply rapidly, reflecting and encouraging the mass movement. These papers are eagerly read by the public. Many books propagating Marxism-Leninism are published.

During 1937, the legal mass movement for democratic freedoms gains momentum and reaches a level as never seen in Viet Nam.

**March 29 and 30 1938:** The Party Central Committee meets to review the movement, lay down directives for the new tasks with a view to pushing the movement forward. The session also exposes the reactionary character of the Trotskyists and points to the necessity of fighting them.

**May 1st, 1938:** A 25,000-strong rally held in the Fair Center (now the site of the open-air People's Theatre) in Hanoi to mark May Day.

Responding to the call of the Party, the Vietnamese people express their sympathy with the Chinese people in their resistance against the Japanese fascists. The papers of the Indochinese Democratic Front daily report on the Chinese people's resistance and protest against the French colonialists for closing the Tonkin-China border.

**September 1939:** The Second World War breaks out. The colonialist reactionaries frantically crack down on the revolutionary movement and scheme to wipe out the Indochinese Communist Party. The facilities for legal activities having terminated, the Party switches over to clandestine activity.

**November 1939:** The Party Central Committee holds its Sixth Session attended by Comrades Nguyen Van Cu (Secretary General), Phan Dang Luu, Le Duan and others. The session decides to effect a re-orientation in the strategic leadership in order to rally all patriotic forces, spearhead the revolutionary war against the fascist imperialists and their henchmen—anset up the Indochinese Anti-Imperialist National United Front.

**September 23, 1940:** The Bac Son uprising breaks out, the first guerrilla unit under the Party leadership is formed.

The meeting sums up the experiences of the insurrections in Bac Son, Nam Ky and Do Luong and decides to speed up preparations for the uprising and get the revolutionary forces ready for stirring the masses into action when the opportune moment comes.

**1943:** While the political struggle is being carried out, the Party publishes the "Viet Nam Cultural Programme" laying the first bases for the revolutionary national and democratic culture advancing to socialism, imbued with a national, scientific and mass character.

**May 7, 1944:** The Viet Minh General Headquarters issues the orders for the insurrection.

**December 22, 1944:** The "Viet Nam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation" is founded in a jungle area belonging to Tran Hung Dao and Hoang Hoa Thach cantons.

**March 1945:** The Standing Bureau of the Party Central Committee holds an enlarged session in Dinh Bang village (Bac Ninh province) and issues a document called "The French Japanese Clash and Our Task." It decides to change the slogan "Drive out the Japanese and French fascists into their henchmen" and calls for the setting up of revolutionary power.

**November 23, 1940:** The Nam Ky uprising is staged. Revolutionary power and revolutionary courts are set up in Tan An, My Tho, Bac Lieu, Soc Trang etc....

**May 10, 1941:** The 8th Session of the Party Central Committee is convened in Pac Bo (Cao Bang province) from May 10 to May 19, under the chairmanship of Comrade Ho Chi Minh. It upholds the slogan of national liberation, decides to set up a broad national united front (the Viet Minh Front), organize the people's liberation army forces, build base areas, lead the people to carry out partial uprisings, eventually a general insurrection to win back power throughout the country. Comrade Truong Chinh is elected Secretary General of the Party.

**April 15, 1945:** The Standing Bureau of the Party Central Committee convenes the North Viet Nam Revolutionary Military Conference (from April 15 to April 20) to delimit the resistance zones and unify the armed forces under the Party leadership.

Also in this period, the Viet Minh General Headquarters issues instructions on the organization of National Liberation Committees.

**August 13, 1945:** The National Conference of the Party convened in Tan Trao, Tuyen Quang province, under the chairmanship of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, decides to stage the General Insurrection and put forth directions for domestic and foreign policies after the success of the action.

**September 2, 1945:** President Ho Chi Minh, in the name of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam reads the historic Declaration of Independence at Ba Dinh Square (Hanoi).

**1942:** The revolutionary base begins to expand vigorously. At the end of the year, the provisional interprovincial branch of the Viet Minh (for Cao Bang, Bac Can and Lang Son provinces) is set up. Armed self-defence units are formed and go into action.

**January 23, 1943:** The Standing Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee meets and decides to found the Indochinese Anti-Fascist Democratic Front to prepare for the general insurrection. The Gaullist group in Indo-China turns down the Party's proposal.

The meeting sums up the experiences of the insurrections in Bac Son, Nam Ky and Do Luong and decides to speed up preparations for the uprising and get the revolutionary forces ready for stirring the masses into action when the opportune moment comes.

**1943:** While the political struggle is being carried out, the Party publishes the "Viet Nam Cultural Programme" laying the first bases for the revolutionary national and democratic culture advancing to socialism, imbued with a national, scientific and mass character.

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**September 2, 1945:** President Ho Chi Minh, in the name of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam reads the historic Declaration of Independence at Ba Dinh Square (Hanoi).

**November 25, 1945:** The Party Central Committee issues instructions on "Resistance and National Reconstruction."

**January 6, 1946:** General elections to the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. More than 90 per cent of the registered voters including those in the areas controlled by the enemy in South Viet Nam go to the polls.

**March 6, 1946:** In furtherance of the Party's policy of "seeking a temporary compromise to progress later," the Government signs a preliminary Convention with the French to gain time for the consolidation and development of the resistance forces.

**December 22, 1946:** The Party Central Committee issues instructions on "all-people resistance," laying down the basic line and directions for the resistance which must be carried out by the entire people and in all spheres, must be protracted and self-relying.

**January 15, 1947:** The Party Central Committee meeting in enlarged session takes note of the favorable situation in all fields following the Viet Bac (northern part of North Viet Nam) victory in 1947.

**June 19, 1948:** A patriotic emulation movement starts throughout the country in response to an appeal of President Ho Chi Minh.

**July 16, 1948:** The National Cultural Conference is held in North Viet Nam to rally all the national and democratic cultural forces to serve the resistance war. The report "Marxism and the Cultural Problem in Viet Nam" is adopted. The French Japanese Clash, defines clearly the line and policies of the Party on the cultural front.

**August 1948:** At the 5th Conference of Party Cadres, Comrade Truong Chinh delivers the report "We Fight for Independence and Democracy." The conference maps out the directions and tasks for stepping up the resistance war and national construction.

**January 14, 1949:** The 6th Conference of Party Cadres meeting in the Viet Bac resistance zone adopts the report "Push Forward Our Resistance and Prepare for the General Counter-Offensive" of the Party Central Committee delivered by Comrade Truong Chinh.

**July 14, 1949:** President Ho Chi Minh signs the decree on the reduction of land rents and the temporary allotment of land taken back from the French colonialists and the Vietnamese traitors to poor peasants. The decree fills the peasants with enthusiasm and encourages them to contribute actively to the resistance war and to boost production.

**January 18, 1950:** China, and later, the Soviet Union (January 30) and the People's Democratic Republics in Asia and Europe one after another, recognize the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

**January 21, 1950:** The Party convenes the Third National Congress.

The Conference discusses and decides on such major problems as: consolidation of the great national unit bloc; active building of the regular and regional armed forces to step up attacks on the material and moral forces of the enemy; the struggle for peace; the general mobilization of manpower, material and moral forces of the people according to the slogan "All for the front line, all for victory"; the consolidation of the people's power; the development of the people's democratic economy, the realization of the land policy; the strengthening of the Party leadership in all spheres and the consolidation of the Party.

**Early 1950:** The US imperialists directly intervene in Indochina (sending US advisors to Viet Nam, organizing a spy net, setting up pro-American parties and factions in the zones occupied by the French...). The Party issues the slogan "Wipe Out the French Colonialists, Oppose the US Imperialists' Intervention in Indo-China, Struggle for Independence, Democracy and Peace."

**September 16, 1950:** The Party Central Committee decides to open the Border Campaign to break the enemy encirclement of Viet Bac, expand the nerve base area of the Resistance War.

**February 1951:** The Second Congress of the Party meeting in Tuyen Quang province decides to change the name of the Party into Viet Nam Workers' Party, adopts the Party's new Political Program and Constitution.

**January 16, 1954:** The Party Central Committee holds its Sixth Session, President Ho Chi Minh decides to observe a month of friendship with the fraternal socialist countries called "Month of Viet Nam-China Friendship," a major event in the political life.

**July 15, 1954:** The Party Central Committee holds its Sixth Plenum, adopts the directives and tactics in a period of struggle to consolidate peace, reunify the country and win complete independence and democracy for the whole country.

**March 1955:** The Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee decides that the immediate tasks of the North Vietnamese people is to complete land reform, suppress counter-revolutionaries, re-habilitate the economy, boost production and improve the people's living conditions.

**November 1958:** The Party Central Committee convenes its Fourth Session, decides on the general line, directions and tasks for the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam.

**March 3, 1961:** The Viet Nam Workers' Party is presented to the people throughout the country at the National Congress held in Viet Bac to merge the Viet Minh and Lien Viet into a unified front.

**Mid-March 1961:** The First Session of the new Party Central Committee decides on the following: firmly hold the leadership in the military field, pay greater attention to the economic and financial services, actively take part in the movement to safeguard the world peace and implement the resolutions of the Party Congress and

the National Merger Congress of the Viet Minh and Lien Viet.

**Early October 1951:** The Party Central Committee holds its Second Session, decides especially to step up the fight against the enemy's scheme "to feed war with war, and to use Vietnam against Vietnam," intensify resistance work in the occupied zone, build and consolidate the guerrilla bases.

**Early 1952:** The Party Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh laid down three major tasks: destroy the enemy man power, step up guerrilla warfare, and foster the people's forces.

**January 25, 1953:** The Party Central Committee holds its Fourth Session, decides on the all-out mobilization of the masses to carry out reduction of land rent and interest and speed up preparations for the land reform.

**November 1953:** The Party Central Committee's Fifth Session and the First National Congress of Party Cadres discuss the policy of land reform. The Party's program on the land question is unanimously passed at these meetings.

**December 1953:** In implementation of the decision of the Political Bureau, the Central Party Committee in the Viet Nam People's Army decides to launch the great offensive on the cluster of fortified positions of the French at Dien Bien Phu.

**January 16, 1954:** The Party Central Committee holds its Sixth Session, President Ho Chi Minh decides to observe a month of friendship with the fraternal socialist countries called "Month of Viet Nam-China Friendship," a major event in the political life.

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**November 1958:** The Party Central Committee convenes its Fourth Session, decides on the general line, directions and tasks for the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam.

**January 1959:** The Party Central Committee calls its Fifteenth Session to define the general tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, namely to consolidate the North, actively take the North to socialism, resolutely complete the national democratic revolution in the South.

**September 5, 1960:** The Third National Congress of the Party officially lays down the tasks of the revolution, approves the new Constitution of the Party, maps out the general line and directions for the First Five-Year State Plan (1961-1965) and elects the new Central Committee, Comrade

Ho Chi Minh is re-elected President of the Party Central Committee, and Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee.

**July 1961:** The Party Central Committee summons its Fifth Session to discuss on the tasks and directions for the development of agriculture in the First Five-Year Plan.

**April 1962:** The Party Central Committee meets in its Seventh Session to map out on the tasks and directions for the development of industry in the First Five-Year Plan.

**December 1963:** The Party Central Committee calls its Ninth Session to elaborate the international line and tasks of the Party.

**December 1964:** The Party Central Committee holds its Tenth Session to consider trade activities and retail prices, and lays down the tasks for the domestic and foreign trade service.

**August 1965:** The Party Central Committee convenes its Eleventh Session to assess the situation in which the whole country is in a state of war, decide on the new tasks of effecting timely the re-orientation of the ideological and organizational work, of economic construction, and strengthening of national defence, affirms the determination to fight and defeat the US aggressors completely.

**1965-1969:** The entire people carry out the war of resistance against the US aggressors, for national salvation, to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

On July 20, 1969, President Ho Chi Minh calls for the entire army and people's greater identity of mind and firmer resolve to fulfill the nation's glorious historic task of defeating the US aggressors. He says: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." In response to the appeal of the Party, Government and President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people in the North launched a big movement of resistance against US aggression for national salvation, to completely foil the US imperialists' war of destruction.

On July 20, 1969, President Ho Chi Minh makes this appeal: "Let our armed forces and people throughout the country, in the spirit of unwavering revolutionary heroism, and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, be determined to carry on and step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win, till the complete withdrawal of the US troops and till the total collapse of the puppet army and administration, in order to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country."

On September 1, 1969 President Ho Chi Minh passes away at the age of 79. He leaves a historic Testament to the entire Party, people and armed forces of Viet Nam.

On September 9, 1969, Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, delivers the funeral oration at the solemn ceremony at Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi. On behalf of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Le Duan reads the five formal pledges to the memory of President Ho Chi Minh.

# NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONALISM DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

because scientific, a path that while continuing the national traditions of militancy, renovated them entirely, opening up prospects hitherto undreamt of.

To know one's enemy and to know oneself, it is usually said in Viet Nam, are the prime conditions of success. Marxism-Leninism has opened the Vietnamese people's eyes to the nature of, and the fundamental contradictions inherent in, imperialism and colonialism. It has also enabled the Vietnamese revolutionaries to penetrate deeply in the Vietnamese society, to analyse its class relationship and to acquire a clear and precise notion of the future of the nation.

Thus, the struggle for national independence is closely linked, on the one hand, to social emancipation and on the other, to world revolution. The working class cannot liberate itself without taking part fully and actively in the national effort of which its Party must assume the leadership. Neither could it dissociate its fight from that of the peasantry and other social strata. The legitimate interests of the peasantry and other social strata, themselves ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by colonialism and its feudal ally, coincide with those of the working class. The Party of the working class, the class Party becomes itself a national Party in its full sense.

For their part, the Vietnamese people, thanks to the Communist Party, have become conscious that their destiny was bound up with that of the whole mankind. The current world revolution is providing the

Vietnamese people striving for independence a valuable and indispensable support, a guarantee of certain victory. To place the Vietnamese revolution in the context of the world revolution, to integrate it into this vast and powerful movement becomes principles for action of invaluable purport.

To the Vietnamese patriots who, in the last twenties when the world economic crisis was shaking the old society to its very foundations, were pondering over the prospects of the future and the ways to regain national independence and modernize the Vietnamese society, the program and thesis of the Communist Party and the Marxist-Leninist theory were indeed enlightening.

The founding of the Communist Party constituted a historic turning point not only for the working class but also for all the Vietnamese patriots. And all along the past forty years up until the present time, the Party has never disappointed the hopes that the entire Vietnamese people have placed in it. For apart from a scientific doctrine and a clear and well-defined political line, the Party has also developed methods and principles of action which vouch for success.

Under the Party leadership, a broad national and popular movement emerged and has been irresistibly heading for victory. Step by step, national independence was won back, the DRVN was proclaimed, and the Japanese fascists then the French colonialists were defeated. Then came the successful land reform, quickly followed by the

agricultural co-operativisation providing millions of peasants with entirely new living conditions and unprecedented prospects for the future. The economic and political structures of socialism were laid as well as the first bases of speedy industrialisation. A new, national, popular and scientific culture was born and a new morality took shape which, while continuing the millenary traditions, are renovating them completely.

The crucial test came with the US aggression, brutal and ferocious, carried out with formidable technical means. The Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh, once again, ably mapped out a judicious political and military line, and inculcated into the whole nation an unshakable will and finally pulled off a victory of historic significance over the most powerful imperialism of all times. And all along this gigantic battle, fought in the context of one of the most complex international situations, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has always been able to work out a Leninist line, independent and well adapted to national conditions, and to firmly maintain its unity with the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Under the Party leadership the Vietnamese people have strengthened its bonds of solidarity and fraternity with the socialist countries, the working class and all the people struggling for independence and all progressive people in the world including those in the United States.

By wedding patriotism to internationalism, by directing democratic

actions to socialism and by adhering to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism while taking into consideration the concrete national conditions, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has provided the Vietnamese revolution with unshakable foundations.

TODAY, forty years after the founding of the Party, more than ever before the destiny of the Vietnamese nation is closely associated with the leadership of the national movement by the Viet Nam Workers' Party. President Ho Chi Minh has departed from us but he left behind an immense heritage which can but bear more and more fruit in the course of events and with time. The Vietnamese people are looking forward to the future with full and complete confidence because they know that the Party is always there to guide them.

Historical and geographical conditions have turned Viet Nam into the converging point of the most irreconcilable contradictions which are shaking our era: contradiction between imperialism and the peoples exploited and oppressed by it, contradiction between socialism and imperialism, and class struggle in the country. The Vietnamese people have made gigantic efforts to meet all their national and international obligations. If they have been able to fulfil all the tasks that devolve on them, that is precisely thanks to the lucid, firm, Marxist-Leninist leadership of their Party.

NGUYEN KHAC VIEN

## All for our victory over the US aggressors!

Let our entire Party, army and people closely unite around the Party's Central Committee, fulfil the last wishes of President Ho Chi Minh, defeat the US aggressors and successfully build socialism!



President HO CHI MINH amidst South Viet Nam PLAF fighters, members of the NFL Delegation visiting North Viet Nam in 1960.

FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM, LET US RESOLUTELY SURMOUNT ALL DIFFICULTIES AND HARDSHIPS, PERSEVERE IN, AND STEP UP, THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST US AGGRESSION, FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, TILL TOTAL VICTORY, LIBERATE THE SOUTH, DEFEND THE NORTH, AND ACHIEVE THE ULTIMATE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY!

# RESOLUTION OF THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS (1960)

(Excerpts)

SINCE the re-establishment of peace and the complete liberation of the North, the Vietnamese revolution had shifted over to a new stage. Under the leadership of the Party, the North is advancing by firm steps towards socialism: it has strengthened its forces in all fields and become the bulwark of the nationwide revolution. Meanwhile, the American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique have set up a despotic and warlike administration in the South, and turned the South into a colony of a new type and a military base of the American imperialists. They are hampering and sabotaging the cause of national reunification of our people.

In the present stage, the Vietnamese revolution has two strategic tasks:

Firstly, to carry out the

socialist revolution in the North. Secondly, to liberate the South from the rule of the American imperialists and their henchmen, achieve national reunification and complete independence and freedom throughout the country.

These two strategic tasks are closely related to each other and impel each other forward.

To take the North towards socialism is a necessary and unavoidable task following the completion of the national people's democratic revolution. To take the North towards socialism and make it more and more powerful in every field will benefit the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the South, the development of the revolution throughout the country and the preservation and consolidation of peace in Indo-China, South-

East Asia and the world. Therefore, to carry out the socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive task for the development of the whole Vietnamese revolution, for the cause of national reunification. We carry out the socialist revolution in the North, while in the South we must endeavor to rally all national and democratic forces, expand and consolidate the national united bloc, isolate the American imperialists and their henchmen, and speed up the struggle to strengthen peace and reunify our Fatherland. That is why, the guiding principle of the socialist revolution in the North is to build the North and in so doing to take the South into due consideration.

In the completion of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country, and the achieve-

ment of national reunification, our compatriots in the South have the task of directly overthrowing the rule of the American imperialists and their agents in order to liberate South Viet Nam. The revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South also aims at frustrating the attempt of the US-Diem clique to rekindle war, and making an active contribution to the defence of peace in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world.

The two revolutionary tasks of the North and the South belong to two different strategies, each task aiming at satisfying the concrete requirement of each zone under the specific conditions of our divided country. But these two tasks aim at resolving a common contradiction of our whole country — the contradiction between

our people and the imperialists and their henchmen in order to achieve a common immediate aim — to achieve peaceful national reunification.

The common task of the Vietnamese revolution at present is to enhance the solidarity of the entire people to struggle resolutely for the maintenance of peace, to promote the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

# FORTY YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

(Continued from page 5)

revolution from one success to another. Our Party has been combating unrelentingly the reformist tendencies of the bourgeoisie and the impulsiveness of the petty bourgeoisie during the national movement, the 'leftist' deviation of the Trotskyists in the workers' movement, against the rightist and 'leftist' inclinations within the Party at each stage. The Party's line and policies serve the basic interests of the broad masses of the working people and therefore enjoy warm support from them. As a result, our Party was able to seize and keep the leadership of the revolution throughout the country and smash all manoeuvres of the national bourgeoisie to divert it of such leadership.

2 — Through the various stages of the revolutionary movement, the Party has, on the whole, had a thorough comprehension of, and correctly solved, the peasant question, and has not ceased

consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. Its practical activity shows that only with the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class can revolution resolutely and completely overwhelm the counter-revolutionary forces, wrest back and consolidate power for the labouring people, fulfil the historic tasks of national people's democratic revolution and advance to socialism (Ho Chi Minh: *The Great October Revolution Has Opened the Way to the Liberation of Peoples*, Nov. 1967).

3 — In every stage of the revolution, our Party has succeeded in rallying all patriots and progressive forces into a broad national united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the Party, realizing unity of action among these forces against the common enemy — the imperialists and their lackeys, and carrying out the front's program...

4 — In its struggle against the enemy of the class and nation, our Party has met revolutionary violence with counter-revolutionary violence, mobilized the masses to rise up and conduct a revolutionary war to seize power and defend the people's power. Through each stage, our Party has been prompted by realities in the choice of the appropriate forms of revolutionary action, has used and skillfully combined the various forms of armed struggle with those of political action to overthrow the enemy and win success for the revolution. Our Party has attached great importance to the building of the people's armed forces composed of three categories of troops: the regular army, regional army and the militia-guerilla or militia home guards. Together with the political forces of the masses (namely the political organizations within the national united front), these forces have successfully coupled armed struggle with

political struggle against all enemy.

5 — Since winning back power for the people, our Party has always been concerned with strengthening and consolidating it, using it on the one hand to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, maintain law and order, mobilize and organize the masses to resist foreign aggressions, defend national independence and unity, and on the other hand, to fully enforce the democratic rights of the people, mobilize and educate the people to emulate one another in shaping a new life, developing economy and culture, and constantly improving their living conditions. That power must be the people's democratic dictatorship carrying out its historic task of worker-peasant dictatorship in the period of national people's democratic revolution and its historic task of proletarian dictatorship in the transitional period to socialism and communism.

6 — The Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the world revolution. None of its successes can be dissociated from the wholehearted support of the fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and worker's movement, the movements for national liberation, peace and democracy. That is why, our Party has never ceased working for the strengthening of international solidarity. It is precisely because it knows how to ally the revolutionary movement in the country with that of the international working class (including that of the working classes and labouring peoples of the imperialist countries which commit aggression against our country) and with the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples that it has won over for the Vietnamese revolution many friends outside the country, thereby strengthening it and leading it to triumph and making a worthy contribution to the world revolutionary movement.

## North Viet Nam

Peasants helping People's Armymen install an AA battery



VIET NAM COURIER

## South Viet Nam

# GREAT PLAF SUCCESSES NORTH OF SAIGON AND IN MEKONG DELTA

★ Near Loc Ninh, 61 Tanks and Armoured Cars Destroyed, 330 GIs Killed or Wounded, 15 Choppers Downed on Jan. 21, 1970.

★ In Phuoc Long Area, 670 Enemy Troops, 86 Vehicles and 3 Cannons Put out of Action, 9 Helicopters Downed on Jan. 11, 13, 19, 20, 21 and 23.

★ At Vinh Hoa, a Puppet "Marine" Battalion Wiped Out, Another Battalion and the Brigade HQ Heavily Depleted, 700 Enemy Casualties on Jan. 22.

## A New Challenge to Public Opinion: Fresh US Bombing Raid on North Viet Nam

ON J. uary 28, 1970, many flights of US aircraft attacked populated areas in the western part of Quang Binh and Ha Tinh provinces, causing losses of life and property to the local people.

The people's armed forces in Quang Binh and Ha Tinh facing up to the raid shot down 3 enemy planes and damaged many others.

## Hanoi Press Opinion

# Nixon's State of the Union Message

RIGHT in the first part of his message which dealt with the Viet Nam question, Nixon's boastful words clashed with facts. He again protested US "goodwill" to "bring an end to the war in Viet Nam" and to "win the kind of just peace." He claimed that the US had made "progress" and that "the prospects for peace are far greater today than they were a year ago."

As a matter of fact, the war in Viet Nam is still raging, and due to the US obdurate and warlike stance, no prospect for an end to the war is in sight as yet. A year ago, with the cessation of the US bombardment against North Viet Nam and the convening of the four-party Conference in Paris, favourable conditions were provided for the search of a fair political solution to the Viet Nam issue. But Nixon applied "maximum military" pressure and tried

to conduct "negotiations from a position of strength." Failing in this attempt, the US President worked out these countries "plan which is in fact a plan to prolong the war by using Vietnamese to fight the war." Vietnamization of the war "new policies" testify to a failure of US imperialism on the world scale. It is the ever stronger struggle of the world's peoples, especially the great successes recorded by the Vietnamese people in their fight against US aggression and for national salvation, which have exploded the myth of US "inexhaustible potential" and landed it in ever greater difficulties. On the other hand, Nixon's "new policies" bring out the stubborn and bellicose nature of US imperialism: despite its setbacks, the US persists in its military adventures and will invoke its "commitments" as a pretext for aggression whenever possible.

The major part of Nixon's message was concerned with US domestic affairs. On assuming office a year ago,

he promised he would solve the three biggest and most pressing problems, namely the Viet Nam war, inflation and social order. Instead, Johnson's war has become Nixon's war, while the other two intricate questions, far from being settled, have grown even more serious after a year of Nixon in power.

In his message, the US President did not mention the difficulties now facing the United States but only spoke optimistically of the "prospects" of the US economy. But, as everyone knows, so long as the US continues its aggression in Viet Nam, pouring into this war more than 30 billion dollars a year, the US economy would still get into ever greater troubles.

Capitol garage and walk home alone tonight."

In order to avoid speaking of the current accumulating problems, he raised a balhyoo about the splendid "prospects" of the US. He promised to do many things, such as "stopping the pollution of our air, cleaning up our cities, opening up new parks, building new cities, turning the wonders of science to the service of man." It is natural that all this is necessary, but the main and most pressing demand of the American people now is the cessation of the US aggressive war in Viet Nam so that young Americans will not have to die a useless death, so that the difficulties at home and the people's life in the US will be gradually solved.

As far as crimes are concerned, Nixon had to complain that not many members of the US Congress "would dare leave their cars in the

## 52nd Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam

(Jan. 29, 1970)

The Nixon Administration Shows No Willingness to Peacefully Settle the Viet Nam Issue

Says DRVN Negotiator

AT the 52nd session of the Paris Conference, Ambassador Ha Van Lau analyzed and criticized, on behalf of the DRVN Government Delegation, President Nixon's January 22 State of the Union message.

"One year after his inauguration," he said, "President Nixon should have fulfilled his promise to the American people to rapidly end the war in Viet Nam, a pledge which helped him to win the elections in 1968. But in his speech, he dodged the Viet Nam problem. Moreover, in a very short paragraph where he had to mention it, he talked about objectives and 'prospects for peace', which are at utter variance with the deeds of his administration in relation to the Viet Nam problem during the past year. This has drawn criticisms from many American papers and even a number of American Senators."

"It is true that throughout the past year," Ambassador Ha Van Lau pointed out, "never did the Nixon administration show its willingness to peacefully settle the Viet Nam war on the basis of real respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. If it had so desired, it could have achieved this in 1969 on the basis of the 10-point overall solution which was put forward by the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. This solution has been acclaimed by world public opinion as very logical, reasonable, and capable of opening an honourable way out for the United States if it really wants to end the war and the aggression."

"Consequently, if the war in Viet Nam is still dragging on, if the Paris Conference on Viet Nam is still dragging its feet, the full responsibility rests with the Nixon administration: this can in no way be concealed from public opinion, the American people in particular."

NHAN DAN  
(The People)  
Jan. 25, 1970

# PRESENT TASKS

— Excerpts from *Forward Under the Glorious Banner of the October Revolution*, an article written in 1967 by Comrade LE DUAN, on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution —

A general survey of the international situation and a thorough analysis of new factors regarding the revolutionary forces and the actual position of the imperialist and other reactionary forces, show us that the forces of revolution and peace obviously outweigh those of imperialism and war. Therefore, far from standing in the defensive, the revolution holds an offensive position and revolutionary strategy must be offensive so as to crush every war policy, and eventually all the war plans of imperialism with the USA as the ringleader; this strategy must aim at fighting off imperialism step by step and smashing the imperialist system piece by piece in order to liquidate it, at vigorously impelling national-democratic revolution and raising high the banner of socialism.

The tremendous strength of world revolution lies in the integrated strength of the many political forces which, from various directions, attack US-led imperialism. Only by closely combining the strengthening of the socialist camp in all fields with the wholehearted support to the revolutionary movement of the oppressed labouring people, closely combining the struggles for national liberation and socialism, and the revolutionary struggle for the liquidation of imperialist domination with the struggle for world peace, can the forces of revolution, peace and democracy frustrate all the war schemes of imperialism, safeguard peace, drive back imperialism and steadily advance the world revolution. (...)

The immediate and basic objective of the South Vietnamese people is to achieve independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and pros-

perity and to advance towards peaceful reunification of the country. To this end, there is no other way than to use revolutionary violence to oppose the brutal and cynical violence of the American imperialists and their henchmen.

The August Revolution, like people's revolutions in other countries, has taught the South Vietnamese revolutionaries that any revolution with a marked popular character must use both political and military forces and combine political with armed struggle to secure victory. Revolution being the uprising of the oppressed and exploited masses, one must adopt the revolutionary mass viewpoint to understand revolutionary violence, which involves two forces — political and military forces — and two forms of struggle — political and armed struggle — and thereby to realize the offensive position of revolution when revolutionary situations are ripe. On the contrary, if one considers revolutionary violence merely from the point of view of armed struggle, and consequently takes into account only the military force of the two sides to appraise the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution, mistakes will be inevitable; either one will underestimate the strength of the revolution and dare not mobilize the masses for insurrection, or once the insurrection has been launched, one will not dare step up the offensive to push ahead the revolution, or, when the armed struggle has been unleashed, one cannot avoid falling back to a defensive strategy. (...)

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party advocated that North Viet Nam with a backward agriculture in which small farming predominated, can bypass the stage of capitalist

development to proceed straight to socialism. This thesis which also was put forward in the 1930 Political Thesis of the Party is now confirmed by practice.

The socialist revolution in North Viet Nam is the integration of three revolutionary processes — revolution in the relations of production, technological revolution, cultural and



Comrade LE DUAN  
appointed First Secretary of the Party CC at the Third National Congress (September 1960).

ideological revolution — aiming at ceaselessly raising the people's material and moral living standard on the basis of an advanced technique and a high labour productivity, on the basis of the establishment of the labouring people's right as collective masters of the whole economy, down to each region and each production unit. Each of these three revolutions has a different content, objective and role, but all of them must be carried out simultaneously throughout the transition period, for they are closely linked to one another, influence and impel one another. (...)

In the development of the modes of production it is the productive forces which as-

sume the decisive role. But to promote these, appropriate relations of production are needed. The socialist relations of production set up in North Viet Nam play a very important and active revolutionary part. They constitute the essential factor which makes it possible for the productive forces to develop and create social premises to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and further the ideological and cultural revolution. They form one of the main motive forces of the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam. In the initial period of socialist construction in which the material and technical bases are still weak, if one knows how to rely on the superiority of the socialist relations of production in order to use properly the labour force brought into play by co-operativization, improve the organization and management of production, gradually ameliorate techniques while enhancing among the people the sense of being collective masters, then one can obtain a higher productivity, boost economic construction and develop production.

In the revolution of relations of production, one must not only transform the relations of ownership of the means of production, but also pay attention to satisfactorily solving the problem of distribution so that in the process of distribution the labouring people realize that they are really masters of the whole economy. To this end, one must strictly apply the principle of distribution according to the work done while ensuring the satisfaction of everybody's basic living requirements

in accordance with the development of social production. One must also closely combine the use of material incentives with political education and moral stimulation to heighten the people's ardour in their work. (...)

For a country which advances towards socialism by-passing the stage of capitalist development, the transformation of relations of production is only a first step in the whole revolutionary process. To radically transform the Vietnamese society and firmly set up a socialist mode of production, the key problem is to promote the technological revolution. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of new relations of production, the technological revolution constitutes the most important motive force to take North Viet Nam to socialism. Only by accelerating the tempo of the technological revolution can one bring the productive forces to a high degree of development, create the material bases for the consolidation of the new relations of production and for the building of an advanced culture and science, thereby ensuring victory for socialism. (...)

In the process of socialist revolution, the establishment of a new mode of production and the building of an economic basis constitute the decisive factor, but from a subjective point of view, the impact of man plays a very important role, for it is under the socialist regime that the labouring people make history consciously; moreover, the socialist system alone can liberate man from all social and natural fetters, and restore his genuine value.

## 40th FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY